

# Responses to Information Requests - Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada

Nigeria: Role of indigeneship in obtaining employment, housing and social services; how indigeneship is established and identified; ability of non-indigenes to relocate to Abuja, Lagos or Port Harcourt; assistance available to those who relocate (2017-October 2019)

## 1. Indigeneship in Nigeria

### 1.1 Ethnic Diversity

Sources indicate that Nigeria is made up of 200 or more ethnic groups and even more linguistic groups (US 13 Mar. 2019, 40; Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 2.8). A country information report by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) describes the ethnic composition of Nigeria as follows:

The largest ethnic groups are the Hausa-Fulani in the north-west, the Kanuri in the north-east, the Igbo in the south-east, and the Yoruba in the south-west. Both the south and north central have populations spread over a large number of smaller ethnic groups. (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 2.8)

Sources note that there have been tensions between ethnic groups (US 13 Mar. 2019, 40; MRG Jan. 2018). Minority Rights Group International (MRG) explains the following:

Nigeria is extremely diverse, with hundreds of ethnic groups and even more languages governed through a federal system of 36 separate states, each with their own ethnic and religious composition. Though this has contributed to the country's rich cultural life, it has also at times been the source of tensions between different groups over power and control of local resources. (MRG Jan. 2018)

### 1.2 Indigeneship [Indigeneity]

Sources state that, among citizens of their country, Nigerians distinguish between indigenes (or natives) and non-indigenes (or settlers) of [regions or] states (CDD 25 Sept. 2019; US 29 Apr. 2019, 2; International Crisis Group 26 July 2018, 9).

Sources indicated that indigeneship depends on the origin of a person's parent, specifically [or "usually" (CDD 25 Sept. 2019)] their father (CDD 25 Sept. 2019; Historian 19 Sept. 2019). Australia's DFAT report states that an "indigene in Nigeria is a person who can trace his or her ancestry back to the original inhabitants of a particular state" (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 3.7). According to the EU's European Asylum Support Office (EASO), indigenes are "those whose fathers were born in the area" (EU Feb. 2019, 52). According to a 2019 academic article by Henry Gyang Mang, an academic at the Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies at the University of Jos in Nigeria, and David Ehrhardt [1], "[i]ndigeneship (or the synonym indigeneity) is the status of being a 'native,' or 'son of the soil,' in a particular locality in Nigeria, where it grants the holder the ability to claim historical belonging in contrast to 'settlers' who originate elsewhere" (Mang and Ehrhardt 7 Feb. 2019, 334). According to Kingsley L. Madueke [2], "[i]ndividuals and groups residents in a state other than their states of indigeneousness are considered settlers" (Madueke Apr. 2018).

## 2. Legislation

### 2.1 Definition of Indigene and Indigeneship

Sources state that neither "[n]on-indigene" (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 3.7) nor "indigene" are defined in the Nigerian constitution (Ehrhardt 27 Apr. 2017, 465). However, sources indicate that indigeneity, or the "indigene principle," is enshrined in the Nigerian constitution (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 2.49; International Crisis Group 17 Dec. 2012, i). In correspondence with the Research Directorate, Henry Gyang Mang indicated that the principle of indigeneity resulted from the introduction into Nigeria's constitution of the "federal character" principle, which implied "a further need to determine who was and who was not indigenous to a certain place" (Mang 8 Oct. 2019). MRG explains the following:

The Constitution requires that government appointments reflect the country's diversity ... . Beginning with the country's 1979 Constitution, the concept of "indigeneity" has been perpetuated in the current 1999 Constitution. This system categorizes all Nigerians as indigenes or non-indigenes (also labelled "settlers") to a region based on where their parents or grandparents were born. The mechanism's intent was to ensure ethnic parity in education and employment, as well as to protect traditional cultures. But in practice it has instead contributed to systematic marginalization of certain groups and encouraged ethno-linguistic identity politics ... . (MRG Jan. 2018)

According to the *Federal Character Commission (Establishment, etc.) Act*, a Federal Character Commission (FCC) was created in 1996 (Nigeria 1996). In the *Guiding Principles and Formulae for the Distribution of All Cadres of Posts* attached to the *Federal Character Commission (Establishment, etc.) Act*, part II defines an indigene as follows:

1. An indigene of a local government is a person-
  1. either of whose parents or any of whose grandparents was or is an indigene of the local government concerned; or
  2. who is accepted as an indigene by the local government:  
Provided that no person shall lay claim to more than one local government.
2. An indigene of a State means a person who is an indigene of one of the local governments in that state:  
Provided that no person shall lay claim to more than one State or to a State and the Federal Capital Territory.
3. An indigene of the Federal Capital Territory-
  1. is a Nigerian citizen, other than by naturalisation, who cannot lay claim to any State of the Federation; or
  2. is a person born in the Federal Capital Territory and whose descendants lived in the area presently constituting the Federal Capital Territory before 26 February, 1976 and has continued to reside in the territory after that date. (Nigeria 1996)

The US Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) reports the following:

Mandated to enforce the constitution's federal character principle, which seeks to ensure that the government reflects the country's diversity, the [FCC] attempts to provide fair and representative access to posts in the civil service, armed forces, police, and other agencies, and to ensure equitable distribution of resources and services. However, because this principle is applied through the controversial "indigene" concept, whereby certain groups are considered native to a particular area

and as a result are afforded benefits and privileges not provided to those deemed non-native "settlers," members of some groups have been denied equal citizenship at the local level. (US 25 Apr. 2018, 53)

## 2.2 Legislation on Discrimination Against Non-Indigenous People

According to the Australian DFAT report, federal Nigerian law does not discriminate against non-indigenes (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 3.7). According to the US Department of State's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2018*, "[t]he law prohibits ethnic discrimination by the government" (US 13 Mar. 2019, 40).

Article 42 of the *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999* provides the following:

42.

1. A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person:-
  1. be subjected either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any executive or administrative action of the government, to disabilities or restrictions to which citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religions or political opinions are not made subject; or
  2. be accorded either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any such executive or administrative action, any privilege or advantage that is not accorded to citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religions or political opinions.
2. No citizen of Nigeria shall be subjected to any disability or deprivation merely by reason of the circumstances of his birth.
3. Nothing in subsection (1) of this section shall invalidate any law by reason only that the law imposes restrictions with respect to the appointment of any person to any office under the State or as a member of the armed forces of the Federation or member of the Nigeria Police Forces or to an office in the service of a body, corporate established directly by any law in force in Nigeria. (Nigeria 1999)

In correspondence with the Research Directorate, a senior research fellow at the University of Nigeria and member of the Institute of African Studies, writing from exile in Togo, indicated that despite section 42 of the constitution, "there is no protective enforcement law on discrimination against any non-native settler in a given town or city in Nigeria" (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019). In correspondence with the Research Directorate, a representative of the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) [3] similarly reported that "[t]he law does not protect non-natives against discrimination pertaining to their indigeneity" (CDD 25 Sept. 2019). According to Mang,

[t]he Nigerian constitution has been vague in expanding the definitions on or related to federal character and its attending features such as indigeneship certificates. There is no law apart from that of citizenship, which gives every Nigerian the right to conduct his/her affairs without prejudice. However, it is limited in phrases which define forms of indigenization, thus in many ways circumventing the rights of non-indigenes. In many cases where non-indigenes are discriminated [against], the law is silent. (Mang 8 Oct. 2019)

In correspondence with the Research Directorate, a history professor at the Obafemi

Awolowo University in Nigeria who has published on indigeneship in Nigeria stated, for his part but without providing further details, that there could be recourse to law courts, but that the justice system is "slow" and that "the extrajudicial space is very wide," so it is "advisable to change location in case of discrimination ... than to seek refuge in law" (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019).

### **3. Establishment of Indigeneship**

#### **3.1 Indigeneship Certificate**

Sources indicate that the formal proof of a person's indigeneship is the indigeneship certificate [also referred to as State of Origin Certificate, Certificate of Origin, Certificate of Indigeneity, or Indigene Certificate] (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019; Mang and Ehrhardt 7 Feb. 2019, 332; Madueke Apr. 2018). For further information on the indigeneship certificate, the requirements to obtain one, the issuing authority and decisions on granting certificates, see Response to Information Request NGA105727 of January 2017.

#### **3.2 Informal Criteria**

Sources cite language as informal criteria commonly used to establish a person's indigeneship (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019; CDD 25 Sept. 2019; Historian 19 Sept. 2019). The Senior Research Fellow explained that "the first mark of identity and most fundamental in defining one's indigenous identity is [their] ability to speak and understand [their] native language and in most cases [their] particular sectional dialect" (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019). The same source indicated that this criterion "at times might not wholly be applicable, particularly in the case of the younger generations born outside their native homeland" (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019). The CDD representative specified that a person who cannot communicate in their local dialect "might be asked to explain [their] inability to do so" (CDD 25 Sept. 2019). The History Professor indicated that a "long period of settlement in a particular community, aided by [the] ability to speak the language of the area" may establish indigeneity where "political accommodation," which "plays a major role," is "made possible" (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

### **4. Influence of Indigeneship**

The EASO states that there are "legal and social differences" between "'indigenes'" or "'natives,'" and "'settlers'" in Nigeria (EU Feb. 2019, 52). Some sources indicate that indigeneship is discriminatory toward non-indigenes (Madueke Apr. 2018; Bertelsmann Stiftung 2018, 6). The Australian DFAT report notes that "official discrimination on the grounds of race, nationality or ethnicity is rare," but that "local policies can discriminate against [non-indigenes]" (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, paras. 3.1, 3.7). The USCIRF notes that indigenes have more rights than settlers or non-indigenes (US 29 Apr. 2019, 2). In a 2012 report, International Crisis Group reports the following: "[t]he indigene principle, or indigeneity (that is, local origin), means that some groups control power and resources in states or [L]ocal [G]overnment [A]reas (LGAs) while others – who have migrated for different reasons – are excluded" (International Crisis Group 17 Dec. 2012, i). In correspondence with the Research Directorate, an associate professor of sociology at the University of Alberta, whose areas of research include resource conflicts in Nigeria, stated that "[i]ndigeneity is a fundamental issue in Nigeria" and that it "serves as a marker of belonging and [a] pedestal for enjoyment or denial of opportunities" (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019).

## 4.1 Employment

Sources indicate that indigeneship influences access to employment (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019) within the civil or public service (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019; Madueke Apr. 2018). According to Ehrhardt, "[u]nder the Federal Character, Nigerians have to be 'indigenes' to access certain economic and political opportunities at the federal as well as state and local government levels" (Ehrhardt 27 Apr. 2017). In correspondence with the Research Directorate, a historian at the University of Ilorin in Nigeria indicated that "employment in [LGAs] are usually exclusive to indigenes" (Historian 19 Sept. 2019). According to a chapter on indigeneity in Nigeria in a book on citizenship in Africa by Bronwen Manby [4], "many States refuse to employ non-indigenes in their civil services" (Manby Nov. 2018, 255). The CDD representative reported that some "positions can only be filled by non-indigenes if indigenes are unable to take up positions" (CDD 25 Sept. 2019).

Sources indicate that indigenous quotas can apply to positions in the civil service (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019; Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 3.8). Mang explained the following:

It is part of all forms of government (federal, state and local government) recruitment processes that the applicant must tender an indigeneship certificate as part of the process of gaining employment. [On its website,] [t]he [FCC] ... describes its primary function as ["implement[ing] and enforc[ing] the Federal Character Principle of fairness and equity in the distribution of public posts and socio-economic infrastructures among the various federating units of the Federal Republic of Nigeria" (Nigeria n.d.)]. One of the main tasks of the FCC is to statistically verify quotas of employees within government ministries, agencies and parastatals, by the different states in which they come from in Nigeria, and in so doing, recommend needed balancing, where quotas of some states fall below a required level. (Mang 8 Oct. 2019)

According to *US Country Reports 2018*,

[s]tate and local governments sometimes compelled nonindigenous persons to move by threats [and] discrimination in hiring and employment ... Those who chose to stay sometimes experienced further discrimination, including ... exclusion from employment in the civil service, police, and military. (US 13 Mar. 2019, 40)

Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

## 4.2 Access to Housing

Sources indicate that access to land in Nigeria can depend on a person's indigenous status (Mang 8 Oct. 2019; International Crisis Group 26 July 2018, 9). Mang explained the following:

[T]he Land Use Act, which rests the power and authority over land in the hands of the states, also recognizes the authority of ethnic traditional rulers over lands seen as "custodial to ethnic groups." Groups with such custodial rights have tended to restrict access to land and development of housing most especially within their spheres of ethnic or religious influence. (Mang 8 Oct. 2019)

In contrast, without providing details, other sources indicated that non-indigeneity does not necessarily influence access to housing (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019; Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019), except in the case of the Northern Hausa-Fulani Muslims who "always define their pattern of settlements in terms of exclusive Muslim identity" (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019).

### 4.3 Access to Government Services

According to sources, indigeneship affects access to government services (US 21 June 2019, 9; Mang and Ehrhardt 7 Feb. 2019, 336). The Australian DFAT report indicates that "[t]hroughout Nigeria, public institutions require individuals to identify their state of origin, or their indigeneity, before they can access public services" (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 3.8). The History Professor stated that certificates of origin are often required for "registration in schools, award of scholarships, employment and even visa processing" (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019). Manby reports that "non-indigenes may have difficulty in accessing any number of ... government services, including police protection in case of ethnic violence" (Manby Nov. 2018, 255). Further and corroborating information on indigeneship and accessing police services could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

International Crisis Group states that indigenes are "granted preferences in education" (International Crisis Group 26 July 2018, 9). According to Madueke, indigeneship can affect access to scholarships and school admissions (Madueke Apr. 2018). Australia's DFAT report states that "indigenous quotas sometimes apply ... at state universities" (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 3.8). The Associate Professor, however, stated that, although children of non-indigenous people "may be excluded while seeking university admissions," this may be mitigated "by parental connections and socioeconomic status" (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019). According to a report on a fact-finding mission carried out by the Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides (OFPRA) in Nigeria in 2016, citing an interview with a representative of Human Rights Watch, non-indigenes might have to pay higher school fees (France Dec. 2016, 60). Manby similarly states that "non-indigenes are charged higher fees at State universities and are usually not eligible for academic scholarships" (Manby Nov. 2018, 255). According to MRG, "[t]he [indigeneity] policy has become a tool for indigenes across the country to exclude competing 'settlers' from scarce educational ... opportunities, even if these are life-long residents of the community" (MRG Jan. 2018).

Some sources stated that non-indigeneity does not influence access to health services (Mang 8 Oct. 2019; Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019; Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019). According to the Associate Professor, the reason for this is because the ability to access health services "is largely a function of the ability to pay, even in public hospitals" (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

The Australian DFAT indicates that "[n]on-indigenes are entitled to access essential public services, including health care, primary and secondary education; however, societal norms discourage them from attempting to do so" (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 3.10). Further information on such norms could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

### 4.4 Political Participation

Indigeneship can also affect political participation (Mang and Ehrhardt 7 Feb. 2019, 336; International Crisis Group 26 July 2018, 9), including access to political appointments (Mang and Ehrhardt 7 Feb. 2019, 332). According to Australia's DFAT report, "[n]on-indigenes are legally able to vote in federal, state or local government elections. However, it is extremely difficult for non-indigenes to run for an elected position at the state level" (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 3.8). Manby similarly states

that "[n]o requirements related to ethnicity or indigeneity are placed by the law on the general right to run for election or hold a public office in any State in the federation," and that a "non-indigene may vote, but will find it very hard to run for office in the area where he or she is resident" (Manby Nov. 2018, 254-255).

## **4.5 Interethnic Conflict**

Sources report that tensions related to indigeneity can lead to conflicts (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019; Manby Nov. 2018, 255; MRG Jan. 2018). The CDD representative explained that "[i]ntercommunal violence based on identity conflicts takes place between a group that defines itself as the rightful stakeholder and the one or those it perceives as intruders" (CDD 25 Sept. 2019).

Sources note that indigeneity is a determinant in the conflict in the Middle Belt (CDD 25 Sept. 2019; US 21 June 2019, 9; MRG May 2018) between farmers and herders (US 21 June 2019, 11). A 2015 Agence France-Presse (AFP) article explains:

The largely agrarian Christian communities in the state maintain the Muslim Fulani herdsmen are engaged in a prolonged battle to gobble up land from the areas of so-called indigenous people.

Fulani leaders counter [that] their people face discrimination as 'foreigners' in Plateau and are deprived of basic rights, including access to land, education and political office, despite having lived in the area for generations. (AFP 17 Sept. 2015)

## **5. Non-Indigenes Relocating to Abuja, Lagos and Port Harcourt**

Sources report that freedom of movement is provided by law in Nigeria (US 13 Mar. 2019, 26; Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 5.21; EU Feb. 2019, 30). Some sources, however, indicate that the government sometimes imposes curfews in areas of conflict (US 13 Mar. 2019, 26; UK Mar. 2019, para. 2.2.4), which can make travelling more difficult (UK Mar. 2019, para. 2.2.4).

The EASO states that internal migration is common in Nigeria (EU June 2017, 27). Manby similarly indicates that "internal migration within Nigeria is the norm: a survey by the National Population Commission in 2010 found that from 10-45 % of the population of every State was made up of migrants" (Manby Nov. 2018, 256). According to the Australian DFAT report, "[m]any Nigerians move to different parts of the country for economic reasons" (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, para. 5.23).

The EASO states that "[i]ndigeneity facilitates settling in a given area; however, it does not constitute a requirement" (EU Feb. 2019, 30). The Australian DFAT report indicates that "[i]nternal moves can be more difficult for non-indigenes due to language, religious and cultural differences, particularly between northern and southern states" and that "[n]on-indigenes of a particular state can have difficulty moving to a new state without familial connections or financial means" (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, paras. 5.25, 5.24). The UK Home Office similarly states that "relocation may be more difficult for ... non-indigenes without access to support networks" (UK Mar. 2019, para. 2.2.5). Mang explained the following:

[T]here could be in a few cases, issues of ethnic bigotry, which could lead to violent acts against them, ... . In a few cases, there might also be residential discrimination, where natives might deprive non-natives residency in a few segregated areas, either for religious or cultural reasons. (Mang 8 Oct. 2019)

*US Country Reports 2018* notes that "state and local governments frequently discriminated against ethnic groups not indigenous to their areas, occasionally compelling individuals to return to a region where their ethnic group originated but where they no longer had ties" (US 13 Mar. 2019, 40). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

## **5.1 Non-Indigenes in Large Cities**

According to the EASO, citing a report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), "most Nigerian towns and all large cities have quite large migrant communities from other parts of the country" (EU June 2017, 27). Mang indicated the following:

[T]he colonial history of Nigeria, which encouraged the non-indigenes to settle within the metropolis, while the indigenes were settled in the peripheries, helped to create a "we" versus "them" relationship between most metropolis occupants and those in the peripheries, due to growth and the emerging development within the peripheries in contemporary times. (Mang 8 Oct. 2019)

Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

From the historian's point of view, "[i]n most cosmopolitan and urban Nigerian cities, issues of indigeneity [are] ... nonexistent" and it is mostly at the local government level, in the "political arena," and particularly when it comes to sharing resources, that indigeneity becomes an issue (Historian 19 Sept. 2019).

Among obstacles faced by non-indigenous migrants in large cities, the Senior Research Fellow noted that seeking accommodation is a "major obstacle" if the person is not "financially strong" (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019). Mang similarly indicated that "financial problems" are the "greatest obstacles" non-natives face when they move to large cities (Mang 8 Oct. 2019). The History Professor also pointed out that the ability to find gainful employment, which is facilitated by a good level of "education, experience or expertise," is a key factor in finding housing (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019).

## **5.2 Abuja, Lagos and Port Harcourt**

### **5.2.1 Presence of Non-Indigenous People**

The EASO states that large cities such as Lagos are more ethnically and religiously diverse (EU Feb. 2019, 28). Ehrhardt, in describing settler-indigenous relations, states that cities such as Lagos and Abuja are examples of places where non-indigenous people are demographically dominant (Ehrhardt 27 Apr. 2017, 483).

The EASO indicates that there is a diversity of languages spoken in large cities (EU Feb. 2019, 105). The Senior Research Fellow indicated that there is no language barrier in cities such as Lagos, Abuja and Port Harcourt "unless the person is not English-speaking" (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019). The same source further stated that

[i]mproved means of communication and broken down ethnic barriers have aided in making the means of settlement in urban areas [easier for non-natives.] ... In these days, there are various bridges of human communication links that go beyond ethnic affiliation, such as employment, old-time school relations, religious affiliations such as common Christian denominations, as well as Islamic identity. All these factors



have in recent times helped in the process of settlement in such cities as Abuja, Lagos and Port Harcourt, as with other similar cities in Nigeria. But that is not to say that the old patterns of family links and ethnic associations are still not applicable in this regard. (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019)

The History Professor, for his part, indicated that the difference in language could lead to the inability to maintain good relations with people (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019).

Regarding ethnic nationalism in Lagos, Mang indicated that "[n]on-indigenes sometimes face the problem of being attacked when violence erupts in cities where they are seen as people benefiting from opportunities meant for the 'owners of the land'" (Mang 8 Oct. 2019). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

The Associate Professor explained that Lagos' historical status as a capital and as a commercial and industrial hub has brought people from all over Nigeria and that its organized private sector attracts workers seeking opportunities, especially young people (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019). Mang also stated that Lagos "has a long history of accommodating non-indigenes, mostly the Igbo" (Mang 8 Oct. 2019). According to the Associate Professor, even though Lagos is dominated by the Yoruba ethnic group, the "Lagos state government cabinet routinely includes non-Yoruba persons" and that "a few federal lawmakers elected by Lagosians ... were born and raised in Lagos, but are non-Yoruba" (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019). However, the same source, further stated that "[s]uch levels of inclusion are unusual in Nigeria," and it "does not suggest harmony and seamless social relations; there are occasional indigene-settler issues even in Lagos" (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019).

The information in the following paragraph was provided by the Associate Professor:

Abuja has a diverse population, in large part because becoming Nigeria's capital in 1991 brought in the federal bureaucracy and its employees. It also attracted businesses which opened branches and headquarters there. Like Lagos, Abuja has a "huge concentratio[n] of the urban working class and job-seekers" and, "[g]iven the centrality of the federal government in the system of patronage, particularly as regards award of contracts, and disbursement of governmental positions and privileges, Abuja attracts people from all over Nigeria. The city was also marketed as 'centre of unity' at [its] inception." Additionally, "the influx of people and the related construction activities led to the displacement of the indigenous Gbagyi people in Abuja and surrounding areas" (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019).

Mang, for his part, indicated the following:

Abuja is an example of a newly created city ... [;] its relatively recent emergence makes it a city with so much regulation and control, even to the level of ethnic quotas. Being the national capital, the arguments for indigeneship are limited to the city's peripheries, where the autochthonous inhabitants (the Gbagyi) contend with the Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA). Most non-indigenes within Abuja are protected by the authority of the FCDA and by the convenience of the Land Use Act of 1978 (modified in 2004), which rests the federal capital in the hands of the federal government, which gives more room for the practice and appreciation of federal character. This is not the same for other cities. (Mang 8 Oct. 2019)

Information on non-indigenous populations in Port Harcourt could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

### **5.3 Employment, Housing and Social Services for Non-Indigenous People**

According to the Australian DFAT report, the larger urban centers of Lagos and the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja) do not implement the practices of requiring individuals to establish their state of origin or indigeneity before they can access public services, civil service jobs or university posts (Australia 9 Mar. 2018, paras. 3.9, 5.24). The Associate Professor stated that "the level of competition in both Lagos and Abuja is ... high" and that "information about employment opportunities in both cities [is] exaggerated" (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019). The same source further stated that "[r]ent is notoriously expensive in both cities," that "[n]on-natives ... face huge costs of living" and that "people relocating from rural areas may find the cost of food prohibitive" (Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019).

French Senior Research Fellow Laurent Fourchard noted, in an article on certificates of origin published in 2015, that "in Lagos State, jobs are not reserved for Lagos indigenes" (Fourchard 2015, 42). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Regarding Abuja, Mang indicated that this city is an exception in that discrimination against non-indigenes in education does not occur (Mang 8 Oct. 2019). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Regarding Port Harcourt, Mang reported the following:

[M]ost non-natives who thrive in the city are either oil workers or people allied to oil servicing companies. Non-indigenous informal workers who seek jobs [that] indigenous peoples are capable of doing are usually frustrated in various informal manners, up to even possible threats by some indigenes. Only niche informal businesses like the sale of livestock and meat butchering, which has been a domain of Hausa or Fulani from the north, has been mainly captured in Port Harcourt by non-indigenes. (Mang 8 Oct. 2019)

Further and corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Without providing further details, the historian indicated that "[i]n cities like Port Harcourt ... due largely to non-availability of land due to the terrain and topography which makes land very scarce, the issue of selling land to non-indigenes" presents some "problematic" aspects (Historian 19 Sept. 2019). Further and corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

### **5.4 Assistance Available to Non-Indigenous People Relocating**

Sources indicated that people relocating in Nigeria, including non-natives, would not benefit from government assistance (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019; Historian 19 Sept. 2019). According to Mang, "very little in terms of assistance and support is given to non-natives in cases where they relocate" (Mang 8 Oct. 2019). According to sources, people who relocate, including non-indigenous people, may seek support from family members, communal connections (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019; Associate Professor 30 Sept. 2019), "workers who are already settled" (History Professor 8 Nov. 2019), or members of their community in the diaspora (Senior Research Fellow 19 Sept. 2019). Further information on assistance provided by family

and community members could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

This Response was prepared after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the Research Directorate within time constraints. This Response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim for refugee protection. Please find below the list of sources consulted in researching this Information Request.

## Notes

[1] David Ehrhardt, an assistant professor at Leiden University, is an international development specialist whose research focuses on urban Nigeria (Leiden University n.d.).

[2] Kingsley L. Madueke completed a PhD at the University of Amsterdam on urban landscapes, territoriality and ethnic violence in Jos, Nigeria (University of Amsterdam n.d.).

[3] The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) is "an independent, not-for-profit, research, training, advocacy and capacity building organisation," registered in Lagos with offices in Abuja, which aims to "mobilise global opinion and resources for democratic development" in West Africa (CDD n.d.).

[4] Bronwen Manby is an independent consultant in the field of human rights and a leading authority on nationality law in Africa, as well as a Visiting Senior Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) (LSE n.d.).

## References

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